2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

from his father. A man who fathers children with many women is placed under no social pressure to support his offspring or to marry the mother of any of them. Even in the case of a daughter's elopement, an act made worse by its rebellious flouting of parental authority, forgiveness is usually forthcoming after a lapse of time.

Sexuality is discouraged from childhood on; sex is a taboo subject within the home. Infant sexuality, masturbation, and sexual play among children, as well as curiosity concerning the bodily functions, is forbidden and punished. It is one of the more important obligations of the parent to keep their children "innocent," or, as they say, "to keep their eyes from being opened." The separation of the sexes for work and play begins from about age seven to ten and is strictly enforced at puberty. Coeducation in the school violated this basic attitude and was bitterly opposed by parents. Girls are unprepared for menstruation, which comes as a shock to most of them; girls will rarely confide in their mothers about menstruation or other intimate subjects.

In most inter-personal situations, Tepoztecans do not express affection in a demonstrative fashion and generally avoid bodily contact. Perhaps the major exception to this occurs in the mother-child relationship during the nursing period, when the child is held, fondled, and sometimes kissed. In courtship there is an increasing amount of demonstrativeness and physical contact, but kissing is still not customary.

Tepoztecans learned the Spanish custom of kissing the hand of the priest and of parents and godparents, but it never came easily to them and is now disappearing. The shaking of hands in greeting and departure and the typical Mexican double embrace are not generally practised in Tepoztlán and occur only among politicians and some of the more citified families. When Tepoztecans are drunk, this restraint is frequently relaxed, and male companions will walk arm in arm, and men may hug and even kiss their children and wives in the privacy of their homes.

It must be apparent from the preceding pages that Tepoztecans are not, on the whole, a very affectionate people and that means of expressing affection are limited. Normally, the Tepoztecan shows his affection for his children by hard work, good habits, and by providing them with the necessities of life; the child expresses his affection for his parents by obedience, respect, and diligence. Other inter-personal relations reveal good will or affection in so far as they fulfill the required reciprocal behavior. If these formal or practical qualities exist between people, Tepoztecans consider that they have a satisfactory relation with each other, and little else is demanded.

Between parents and children there is now a noticeable tendency, particularly among the younger generation, to express affection and to seek it in terms of greater demonstration of personal interest in each other, in their wants and needs and general welfare over and above life's bare necessities. This interest may be expressed by greater giving of food, clothing, toys, sweets, gifts, and now, by a willingness to make sacrifices for an education. Tepoztecans, particularly men,

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Because of patrilocal residence, relations between the wife's parents and their son-in-law depend more upon personal factors than upon formal obligations, except for the usual formal respect-relations which prevail between them. Relations may be amiable and even mutually helpful, but more generally are not close, almost to the point of avoidance. Some Tepoztecans recall that in the past the son-in-law was obliged to work for his father-in-law for two years by providing him with wood and water, as part of the bride price. Work now done by the son-in-law is voluntary and is usually limited to times when the father-in-law is ill or in need. If the mother-in-law is widowed and has property, her son-in-law may give her some aid regularly; if she is left alone with no means of support, the son-in-law may invite her to live in his home.

Tepoztecan men are generally wary of the mother-in-law as a meddlesome, trouble-making figure, and most sons-in-law prefer to keep the relationship a distant one. Despite this stereotype, and the fact that some mothers-in-law have been critical of the way the son-in-law treated her daughter, often to the extent of urging the girl to return home, it is more common to find the mother-in-law who insists that her daughter try to please her husband and bear up under domestic difficulties. Most fathers-in-law take the same attitude, unless their daughter is ill-treated by her husband. In such cases, the father-in-law may feel personally affronted, interpreting the son-in-law's behavior as being disrespectful to him.

Relations between sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law are not formalized and depend largely upon personal factors. Sisters-in-law, whether wives of two brothers, or the husband's wife and sister, may be friendly and mutually helpful or, just as frequently, suspicious and hostile. In some families the wives of brothers compete for the esteem of the mother-in-law and carry to her tales and gossip about each other. When the mother-in-law favors one sister-in-law over another, hostility between the two younger women usually results. Relations between sisters-in-law frequently depend upon how the brothers get along with each other; quarrels over inheritance involve the sisters-in-law as much as the siblings.

Brothers-in-law generally have less contact with each other than do sisters-in-law, since they tend to reside farther apart. Two sisters may live at opposite ends of the village after marriage and, like their husbands, see relatively little of one another. Even when brothers-in-law, particularly the husband and brother of the woman, live nearby or on the same house site, they tend to maintain their distance. Ill feeling between brothers-in-law may arise over inheritance, or because of favoritism on the part of the parents-in-law, or because of a quarrel between the wife and her sibling. In a few cases, brothers-in-law have fairly close relations involving labor exchange, supplying each other with meat when they slaughter a pig, and drinking together.

The parents of the husband and wife are *consuegros* to one another. Theirs is a mutual respect-relation, with each addressing the other in *Vd*. There are no formal obligations between them. It is customarily understood that after a girl's marriage her parents relinquish their rights of control over her in favor of the husband and

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

584 Tepoztecan boys will wait that long. If the decision is favorable, the girl's parents may question the boy about his willingness to undertake the obligation of supporting a wife, and they may warn him that their daughter is young and inexperienced. They suggest that if he is unwilling to endure the girl's faults this is the time to say so, and the entire matter will be dropped. The boy is also warned that he must not blame his wife's parents or abandon his wife if he is dissatisfied with her after the marriage. At the same time the girl is advised that her life will be very different in the home of her husband and his parents. She is told that she must change her character and her ways. She must try to please her husband and his parents and work hard. She must learn to obey them and always ask her husband's permission to leave the house. She is warned not to be jealous or to heed gossip about her husband's affairs. If both the boy and girl agree to this, a date for the marriage is set.

583 One of the underlying principles in marriage arrangements in the past was the compensation of the bride's family for the loss of a working member. There was a formal bride price known as the *chichitomin*, which means payment for the mother's milk, that is, the milk used in raising the child. The *chichitomin* was paid in silver pesos, and the price varied from a few pesos to twenty-five or thirty. Many old people in the village still remember the payment of the bride price. It was also customary for the young man to bring wood and carry water for his future in-laws for a period of one or two years. In addition there was the custom known as the [584] *puesto de flores*, whereby the boy's mother had to bring flowers and candles for the *santo* of the girl every eight days for a month before the marriage. The boy's parents were also expected to bring gifts of chocolate, bread, and wine each Sunday from the time of the *petición de mano* until the date of the marriage. Today the *puesto de flores* is rarely practiced, and no one now works for the father-in-law. [584] But the boy's mother is still expected to bring gifts during the interval of the marriage negotiations.

When either set of parents refuses to give permission for the marriage, or if the couple have reason to believe that their parents will object in any way, the boy and girl will usually elope. Sometimes if a couple is seen together they will elope immediately, rather than have the girl punished by her parents. Elopements, which are known as *raptos*, consist of going away together and living as man and wife for a few days in the home of a well-disposed aunt or uncle or friend of the boy. Sometimes the boy brings the girl to his own home directly, or after a day or two. The girl is kept hidden until her parents stop looking for her, then the boy's father and godfather may visit the girl's parents and ask for their permission for the marriage. The elopement in most cases is for the purpose of breaking down resistance to the marriage, and often the girl's parents will accept it as a *fait accompli* and will agree to the marriage, in which case they may take the girl home and go through the proper procedure. But the girl's parents frequently remain angry and will not speak to either the boy or the girl for several years. If they get married, the parents may refuse to attend the marriage. In some cases the girl's parents may

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

bring legal charges against the boy and try to get the girl home. If they are adamant and threatening, the boy may, in revenge, refuse to marry the girl and send her home where she will be severely beaten.

Raptos have existed as far back as informants can remember, but there is evidence that the number have increased considerably since the Revolution. During 1942 and 1943, approximately fifty per cent of all marriages began as elopements. This is symptomatic of the breakdown of parental authority and the increasing independence of young people. In the majority of cases after elopement, the respective *padrinos* of the boy and girl will intercede and bring pressure upon the couple to marry. Most elopements end in marriage. Of the thirty elopements in the village during 1942 and 1943 all but three ended in marriage. In these three cases the girls were orphans, with no one to intercede in their behalf.

IN THE CHURCH

To be well married in Tepoztlán is to be married in church. Because civil marriage is now compulsory by law, most couples marry by both laws. Approximately 75 per cent of 133 marriages in the village between 1941 and 1946 were by both laws.

On the day the couple obtain their civil marriage certificate,[4] they appear before the priest with two character witnesses for the *presentación*. The priest writes down the name, age, and civil status of the boy and the girl and then begins to question each of the character witnesses. He asks the boy's witness if the boy has other *novias*, or other commitments, or whether he has children with another woman. Then the girl's witnesses are asked similar questions. The priest then turns to the boy and girl and asks each in turn whether they want to marry of their own free will, or whether they are being forced to marry. On the following three Sundays the priest reads the marriage banns in the church and if there are no protests, the couple are married on the fourth Sunday. Because of the Tepoztecan sense of shame and reticence to publicize private affairs, protests during the time of the reading of the banns are rare, even when some jilted lover or an unwed mother may have good cause.

On the evening before the wedding, the boy's parents traditionally send a basket of bread, chocolate, some bottles of wine, and a turkey prepared with the necessary condiments to the home of the girl. They also send along the wedding dress, with its accessories, shoes, stockings, and flowers. That evening the girl is taken to the home of the godparents of marriage, where she spends the night. The godparents give her marital advice at this time, and again the emphasis is upon her need to obey and conform to all of her husband's wishes.

In the early morning the godmother helps the girl wash and dress. Church weddings require the bride to be dressed in a white dress, shoes, and stockings. A dress with a train, *la cola*, and a veil is desirable. (See Fig. 62.) Widows who

[4] For a discussion of civil marriage, see Chapter 3, "Status Distinctions and Family Organization," p. 73.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

see to what extend the trend of change found in our study of Tepoztlán falls within the categories suggested by Redfield in his study *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*.[10] He postulates that with increased urban influences there is greater disorganization, secularization, and individualization. Taking each separately, we shall consider the family first, as an example of disorganization. Redfield summarized the broad trends of change in family organization as follows:

> As one goes from Tusik toward Merida there is to be noted a reduction in the stability of the elementary family; a decline in the manifestation of patriarchal or matriarchal authority; a disappearance of institutions expressing cohesion in the great family; a reduction in the strength and importance of respect relationships, especially for elder brothers and for elder people generally; an increasing vagueness of the conventional outlines of appropriate behavior toward relatives; and a shrinkage in the applicability of kinship terms primarily denoting members of the elementary family toward more distant relatives or toward persons not relatives.[11]

The first generalization that can be made in the case of Tepoztlán is that, despite the increased city influences in the last seventeen years, the stability of the nuclear family has not been seriously modified. The family remains strong and cohesive, separations have not noticeably increased, and divorce is all but non-existent. The extended family is relatively weak but continues to serve in cases of emergency. This weakness, however, is not a recent phenomenon. Quarrels between husband and wife and wife-beating occur with some frequency, but this too seems to be an old pattern. The tensions and quarrels within families reflect a type of family organization, as well as Tepoztecan personality, but are not necessarily symptoms of disorganization.

Parental authority remains strong in Tepoztlán, despite the elimination of arranged marriages and the increase in elopements. Parents continue to have control over their children, in many cases even after marriage. As we have seen, about sixteen per cent of all house sites are composed of joint families, and about half of these are extended families in which married sons are treated as children subject to the authority of the parents (*hijos de familia*).

[583] Although about fifty per cent of the marriages now begin as elopements, which flout the authority of the parents, the old form of asking for the girl's hand by the

[10] In effect, we are comparing the results of a diachronic study of culture change with that of a synchronic study. Redfield's methodology in *Folk Culture of Yucatan* involved the reconstruction of a historical process from the differential position of four communities on the hypothetical folk-urban continuum. That is, each of the four communities represented a distinct stage in the evolution from folk to urban. It assumed that the communities were similar at some unspecified time in the past, and explained the differences in the degree of secularization, individualization, and disorganization, as a result of urban influences. Redfield had posed a historical problem which he attempted to solve in a non-historical way. In referring to the four monographs on which his book was based, he wrote, "The outlines of historical trends of change . . . might be expected to appear more clearly if carefully prepared histories of local cultures were written. . . . But in none of the four communities studied in the present connection was any systematic effort made to recover the older conditions of the local society by asking informants." Redfield, *Folk Culture of Yucatan*, pp. 341–42.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

boy's parents continues. In any case, elopements do not lead to disorganization, for most elopements end in marriage, and the couple make peace with their parents. Assuming that elopements are an old trait, as seems to be indicated, here we have a case in which urban influence has intensified an old trait rather than caused its breakdown. Moreover, because Redfield found practically no elopements in Tusik and many elopements in Merida, he associated elopements with urbanism and disorganization. But this assumes what has still to be proved. In Tepoztlán, which is much less urban than Merida, by Redfield's own standards, we find a much higher proportion of elopements than in Merida. Furthermore, in Tzintzuntzan, an even more isolated village, Foster found that ninety per cent of marriages began as elopements. And he cites documentary evidence for the antiquity of this pattern.[18]

The desire of young couples to become independent of their parents and to set up their own homes, which has been indicated earlier, reflects a greater individualism but does not necessarily imply a breakdown in family life. On the contrary, the lesser role of the in-laws and the greater dependence of the husband and wife upon each other, plus the fact that they are each of their own choice, may make for better marriage relations and greater family stability.

Although it is true that some outer forms of respect have been discarded, the fundamental respect status of elders remains. Perhaps the single exception has been the decline in the respect accorded elder brothers. But it is questionable whether the elder brother in Tepoztlán ever enjoyed the special position that he had in Maya society.

We find no evidence for any marked change in the reciprocal behavior of relatives, perhaps because such changes have occurred so far back in history that informants have no memory of them today. As we have said before, the extended family is weak and, so far as we know, has been weak for many generations. The same may be said for the use of kinship terms, which have not changed in recent history. In surrounding villages, which generally conserve older culture elements, kinship terms are used in substantially the same way as in Tepoztlán.

In the examples cited, it is clear that changes have occurred in the village, but these changes do not necessarily imply disorganization. Rather, they involve a new kind of organization or reorganization.[19]

[18] Foster, *Empire's Children*, p. 429.

Beals, in another connection, has also called attention to a pattern of change different from that reported by Redfield. Beals writes, "Cherán, like many Indian communities of Mexico, is increasingly influenced by the town and the city. Nevertheless, the process again seems significantly different from those hitherto described by Redfield. In Cherán there is no distinction of *los tontos* and *los correctos*, mestizo and *indio*, or *ladino* and *indio*, although such may exist in some Tarascan towns with an appreciable mestizo population. Nor does the neat diminishing order of city, town, and village hold in this area. Cherán is probably more influenced by Gary [Indiana, U.S.A.], Mexico City, and Morelia [possibly in diminishing order] than it is by Uruapan and Pátzcuaro. Indeed, it is quite probable that fundamentally Cherán is more progressive, more in touch with the modern world, than is mestizo Pátzcuaro with its conscious idealization of a Colonial past." Beals, *Cherán*, pp. 271–12.

[19] Gross in a recent study has made the same point. He writes, " . . it should be noted that Redfield's concepts of organization and disorganization are subject to a severe limitation. They